

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00
DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
ACDA-12 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 /108 W
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O P 311349Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7113
INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY VALLETA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
USINT HAVANA PRIORITY
COMIDEASTFOR PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER PRIORITY

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VALLETTA FOR ASST SECY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS
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TAGS: PBOR, PEPR, MASS, ET, SO, US, XF, XT
SUBJ: FURTHER ANALYSIS OF PMAC CHAIRMAN'S JAN 30 SPEECH

REF: ADDIS ABABA 0450

SUMMARY: PROVISIONAL MILITARY ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL
(PMAC) CHAIRMAN, LT. COL. MENGISTU HAILE-MARIAM WOVE

FORCEFUL DESCRIPTION OF CONSPIRACY AGAINST ETHIOPIA IN LENGTHY NATIONWIDE SPEECH JAN 30. PRINCIPAL VILLAINS CITED BY MENGISTU WERE SOMALIA AND SIAD BARRE, US AND PRES. CARTER, SAUDI ARABIA, IRAN, EGYPT, ITALY, OMAN, JORDAN AND THE PERSIAN GULF STATES. AFTER ESTABLISHING HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION AND LONG RECORD OF ANTI-ETHIOPIAN ACTIONS BY WESTERN NATIONS IN PAST, MENGISTU PRESENTED CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED CASE TO "PROVE" CURRENT ANTI-ETHIOPIAN CONSPIRACY IS NEO-COLONIALIST AND MASTERMINDED BY IMPERIALISM. INTERNAL LOGIC OF MENGISTU'S PRESENTATION, BUILT UPON TRADITIONAL ETHIOPIAN BELIEF THAT COUNTRY IS SURROUNDED BY HOSTILE NEIGHBORS, UNDOUBTEDLY WILL HAVE POWERFUL IMPACT UPON EVEN MOST MODERATE ETHIOPIANS. CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE REPORTED IN VARIOUS MEDIA OF MILITARY SUPPORT TO SOMALIA BY COUNTRIES ALLIGNED WITH US, COUPLED WITH UNDENIABLE VALIDITY OF ETHIOPIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AS SUPPORTED BY ALL RECOGNIZED INTERNATIONAL LAWS, INCLUDING THE UN CHARTER, OBVIOUSLY REINFORCE MENGISTU'S AND ETHIOPIA'S POSTURE. PMAC CHAIRMAN REITERATED CALL FOR IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL SOMALI WITHDRAWAL AS ONLY MEANS OF RESTORING PEACE TO THE HORN. JAN 30 SPEECH HAS CLEARLY LAID GROUNDWORK FOR ALMOST ANY ANTI-WESTERN ACTION ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT (EPMG) WISHES TO TAKE AND/OR JUSTIFY IN THE FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

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1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT MENGISTU ESTABLISHED IN JAN 30 SPEECH BEFORE PRESENTING CASE OF CURRENT ANTI-ETHIOPIAN PLOT INCLUDED:

- (A) ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION SPONTANEOUS OCCURRENCE TO ESTABLISH EQUALITY, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE.
- (B) EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE TO "PEACE-LOVING" SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES FOR THEIR SUPPORT.
- (C) BLAME FOR CONCEPT OF "GREATER SOMALIA" LAID ON IMPERIALISM, AFTER COLONIALISM COMPELLED TO LEAVE AFRICA.
- (D) WESTERN EUROPEAN AND US ARMS EMBARGO IMPOSED IN 1935, WHICH ALLOWED FASCIST ITALIAN AGGRESSION AND WHICH LIFTED ONLY AFTER MUSSOLINI HAD ENTERED ADDIS ABABA.
- (E) SUSPENSION OF US ARMS SUPPLY TO ETHIOPIA IN MAY 1977, PAID FOR WITH MONEY RAISED FROM POOR ETHIOPIAN MASSES, HAS INDIRECTLY ENCOURAGED SOMALI AGGRESSION.
- (F) RECOUNTING OF CALCULATED SOMALI INVASION, BEGINNING IN JAN 1975 TO WHICH TO OAU AND US

WERE ALERTED.

2. TURNING TO RECENT PAST AND PRESENT, MENGISTU STATED THAT INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISTS HAVE SEEN AND REPORTED IRREFUTABLE EVIDENCE OF SOMALI AGGRESSION, I.E., CAPTURED TANKS, ARTILLERY, DOWNED AIRCRAFT AS WELL AS HAVING BEEN TAKEN TO ETHIOPIAN TOWNS OF GODE, JIJIGA, DEGEHABOUR AND KEBREDEHAR BY SOMALIS. YET, HE CONTINUED, THE US HAS FAILED TO CONDEMN SOMALI AGGRESSION OR CALL FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF SOMALI FORCES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UN CHARTER. INSTEAD, PRES. CARTER'S TALKS WITH MIDDLE EAST AND WEST EUROPEAN LEADERS HAVE BEEN AIMED AT CAPITALIZING ON SOMALIA'S PROPOGANDA THAT IT WILL BE INVADDED. BY DECLARING THE

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HOPE THAT SOMALIA WOULD SEEK PEACE, "PRES. CARTER HAS ATTEMPTED TO PROJECT INVADING SOMALIA AS A PEACE SEEKER AND INVADDED ETHIOPIA AS AN AGGRESSOR."

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3. MENGISTU THEN CONSTRUCTED ANTI-ETHIOPIAN SCENARIO
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REPORTED REFTEL, PARA 1 AS IF IT PERSONALLY COORDINATED BY PRES. CARTER. ON THE RECENT "URGENT AND CLOSED" SESSION OF THE FIVE POWERS IN WASHINGTON, MENGISTU ASSERTED THEY HAD AGREED, AS NATO PACT MEMBERS, TO ARM SOMALIA SECRETLY. ETHIOPIA HAD BELIEVED THAT THE STANCE OF THESE GOVERNMENTS HAD CHANGED SINCE WWII, BECAUSE MAJORITY OF THEM WERE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL ENTRUSTED WITH FULFILLING MAJOR ROLE OF UN AS PEACE-KEEPING ORGAN. HOWEVER, ETHIOPIA HAS BEEN MISTAKEN AND FURTHER DEPLORED THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER THE WASHINGTON MEETING WHICH SUGGESTED THAT SOMALIA NEGOTIATE WITH INVADERS ETHIOPIA, BUT FAILED TO CONDEMN THE FORMER FOR ITS AGGRESSION. MENGISTU THEN RHETORICALLY QUESTIONED "THOSE WHO ASK US TO NEGOTIATE WITH SOMALIA," "WHAT WAS THE SENTIMENT OF WASHINGTON AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHEN JAPAN RAIDED PEARL HARBOR?" "WHAT DID CHURCHILL AND BRITISH OFFICIALS SAY WHEN HITLER'S WAR PLANES DRONED OVER BRITAIN?" "DO THEY CONSIDER ETHIOPIA AN INSENSITIVE SOCIETY INCAPABLE OF STRUGGLING FOR THEIR HONOR, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, FREEDOM, UNITY, RIGHTS AND REVOLUTION?"

4. MENGISTU THEN DEFENDED ETHIOPIA'S RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE. HE REPEATED ONCE AGAIN THAT ETHIOPIA HAS "NO TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS WITH ANYONE, NO EXPANSIONIST AIMS NOR DESIGNS. AT NO TIME IN OUR LONG HISTORY DID WE CROSS AS INVADERS THE BORDERS OF OUR NEIGHBORS OR DESECRATE THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS. WE ARE STRUGGLING TO UPHOLD OUR UNITY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE." AFTER CITING THE UN CHARTER AND ARTICLE 51 AS

THE BASIS FOR IMMEDIATE SOMALI WITHDRAWAL AND WHICH HE REEMPHASIZED, MENGISTU CALLED ON UN MEMBER STATES AND PEOPLE, "WHO PLEDGED TO STAND FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE, AND CONFIDENTIAL

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HAVE THE MORAL AND LEGAL INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION TO STAND ON OUR SIDE IN OUR LEGITIMATE STRUGGLE."

5. COMMENT: THROUGHOUT SPEECH, MENGISTU WAS CALM, MEASURED AND NON-VITRIOLIC. MENGISTU'S SPEECH IS PROBABLY THE MOST DEFINITIVE STATEMENT ON ETHIOPIAN POLICY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AND WILL BE THE BASIS OF FUTURE ETHIOPIAN DECISIONS. THE SPEECH WAS TOTALLY DEVOID OF IDEOLOGY AND BUILT UPON THE FOUNDATION OF INTERNATIONALLY ACCPTED PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES. THE SITUATION IN ERITREA WAS ONLY MENTIONED IN PASSING AS AN EXAMPLE OF REACTIONARY ARAB INTEFERENCE IN ETHIOPIA'S AFFAIRS, AND NO REFERENCE MADE TO SUDAN OR NIMEIRY, EITHER IN ERI-TREAN CONTEXT OR AS COMPLICATING SITUATION IN THE HORN. MENGISTU CONCENTRATED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE ETHIOPIAN/ SOMALI CONFLICT AND THOSE COUNTRIES PROVIDING ASSITANCE TO SOMALIA. THE SPEECH STUDIOUSLY AVOIDED ANY QUESTION OF THE OGADEN CONFLICT BEING AN EAST-WEST ISSUE, AND LEFT OPEN THE DOOR FOR ALL UN MEMBER STATES TO SIDE WITH ETHIOPIA. MENGISTU RESTATED THAT ETHIOPIA HAS NO TERRITORIAL DESIGNS ON ITS NEIGHBORS NOR DO THEY WISH TO EXPAND THEIR BORDERS. STRONG ATTACK ON PRES. CARTER'S SUSPECTED POLICY TOWARD THE HORN WAS DEVOID OF ANY PERSONAL CRITICISMS AND FOCUSSED MORE ON ETHIOPIA'S DISBELIEF THAT US IS NOT ONLY NOT UPHOLDING INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLES, BUT IS ALSO ENCOURAGING OUR ALLIES TO ASSIST SOMALIA IN THEIR VIOLATION. IMPLICATIONS OF MENGISTU STATEMENT FOR US ARE A CONTINUING DETERIORATION IN RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA. HOWEVER, TONE OF MENGISTU SPEECH MORE ONE OF HOPE THAT US WILL RECOGNIZE ITS "ILLOGICAL" POSITION RATHER THAN ONE OF ANGER.

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